

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY TEXT AS RECEIVED FROM WHITE HOUSE

APPROVED BY S/S-O: DAVID MACK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 207709

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: IS, EG, PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR CONGRESSMAN ELFORD CEDERBERG

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO REPRESENTATIVE
CEDERBERG FROM JACK MARSH, COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT AN INTERIM AGREEMENT
HAS BEEN REACHED BY ISRAEL AND WILL BE INITIALED LATER
TODAY.

THE EMBASSY CAN PROVIDE YOU THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT
ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT TODAY.

THE PRESIDENT WILL BE SENDING TO THE CONGRESS THE TEXTS
OF THE VARIOUS DOCUMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE AGREEMENT.
IN THE MEANTIME, HE ASKED ME TO INFORM YOU OF THE FOLLOWING
POINTS:

1.THIS IS AN HISTORIC FIRST:THE FIRST TIME THERE HAS
BEEN A MIDDLE EAST PEACE AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT FOLLOW ON
THE HEELS OF WAR. THIS AGREEMENT ACHIEVED ALMOST TWO

YEARS AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR IN 1973 WE BELIEVE
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DEMONSTRATES THAT BOTH SIDES WANT TO BUILD A LASTING PEACE.

(2) THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT IN FORESTALLING
ANOTHER MAJOR CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AN

ACCOMPANYING OIL EMBARGO CANNOT BE OVERESTIMATED.

(3) IF IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE THIS STEP AND GENERATE BOTH NEW HOPE AND TANGIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE, OUR JUDGMENT WAS THAT THE ALTERNATIVE OF MOVING DIRECTLY TO TACKLE ALL THE ISSUES OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT IN GENEVA WOULD HAVE LED TO STALEMENT, A CERTAIN DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION, AND PROBABLY A NEW WAR AND ANOTHER OIL BOYCOTT.

(4) IT BECAME CLEAR SEVERAL MONTHS AGO THAT THERE WOULD BE NO AGREEMENT WITHOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IN THE GIDDI AND MITLA PASSES WITH PROVISION FOR BOTH PARTIES TO MAINTAIN SURVEILLANCE STATIONS IN ORDER TO INCREASE THEIR SENSE OF SECURITY AGAINST ATTACK.

(5) AFTER TRYING ALL FORMULAS, THE ONLY ONE WHICH BOTH PARTIES COULD ACCEPT WAS FOR THE US TO PLAY A ROLE IN OVERSEEING THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM. IT WAS WITH RELUCTANCE THAT WE AGREED TO THE PARTIES' REQUEST THAT WE TRY TO FIND AN APPROPRIATE, ACCEPTABLE PROPOSAL.

(6) WE REJECTED ANY IDEA OF ACTUALLY OPERATING STATIONS FOR EGYPT OR ISRAEL, OR FOR THERE TO BE ANY US MILITARY PERSONNEL INVOLVED OR FOR OUR CIVILIAN PERSONNEL TO HAVE ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENFORCING OR SUPERVISING THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. THE US ROLE, AS SPELLED OUT IN THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL, IS A VERY LIMITED TECHNICAL FUNCTION PLUS VERIFICATION OF THE NUMBERS AND FUNCTIONS AT THE ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN STATIONS. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF US CIVILIANS WILL NOT EXCEED 200 SO THERE WILL, IN EFFECT, BE NO MORE THAN 100 PERSONS PRESENT IN THE EARLY WARNING AREA AT ANY ONE TIME.

(7) THE PRESIDENT HAS CONSISTENTLY TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THE US PROPOSAL MUST BE APPROVED BY CONGRESS BEFORE
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IT COULD BECOME OPERATIONAL.

(8) THERE WAS VERY GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT HAD THIS AGREEMENT NOT BEEN CONCLUDED, ANOTHER CONFLICT WOULD HAVE ENSUED BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. THE COST TO THE US, AS WELL AS TO THE COMBATANTS, WOULD HAVE BEEN

INCALCULABLE HAD THIS OCCURRED. THAT IS WHY THE PRESIDENT WAS WILLING TO RECOMMEND A LIMITED US CIVILIAN ROLE.

(9) AS IT IS, THE CONDITIONS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN CREATED FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD DURING WHICH ISRAEL WILL BE SAFE FROM ATTACK, THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE WILL

BE SAFE FROM THE FALL-OUT OF A WAR AND CAN LIVE TO BUILD
MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE
ARAB COUNTRIES, THE INFLUENCE OF THE USSR IN THE AREA
WILL NOT INCREASE, AND THERE IS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY
OF IMPROVEMENT IN ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS.

(10) THE US INTENDS TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO HELP
KEEP THE FRAGILE MOMENTUM FOR PEACE ALIVE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST AND WILL ALSO WORK TO STRENGTHEN ITS BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIPS WITH ISRAEL AND THE KEY ARAB STATES.
THE AREA IS TOO IMPORTANT TO OUR VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST
NOT TO REMAIN ACTIVELY INVOLVED. WE WILL BE SUBMITTING
RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONGRESS LATER THIS MONTH FOR
FY 76 ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN AND
SYRIA.

(11) IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED, IT WILL REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL
SUPPORT. SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL BE TESTIFYING BEFORE
BOTH HOUSES ABOUT THE US PROPOSAL, AS WELL AS OUR GENERAL
STRATEGY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST NOW THAT THE EGYPTIAN-
ISRAELI AGREEMENT HAS BEEN CONCLUDED. OUR REASSESSMENT
HAS PREPARED THE WAY FOR A NEW APPROACH WHICH WE HOPE
CAN BE A COOPERATIVE EFFORT BY BOTH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH
AND THE CONGRESS.

END TEXT

NOTE FOR EMBASSY:
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PLEASE DELIVER THE CODEL THE WIRELESS FILE TEXT OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT NOTED IN SECOND PARAGRAPH
OF ABOVE MESSAGE.

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